*Those Non-Lethal Gases Can Be Lethal, P. 2*

**One Stream That Keeps on Swelling Is The Stream of Official Falsification**

**"Little more than six years ago, North Vietnam decided on conquest. From that day to this, soldiers and supplies have been moving from North to South in a swelling stream. . . ."**

***—Johnson in his State of the Union Message, Jan. 12.***

**"Gen. Westmoreland stated to me that the bulk of the Vietcong fighting in South Vietnam were born and reared in South Vietnam. Gen. Stilwell, in Thailand, went further. He stated that 80 percent of the Vietcong fighting in the Mekong delta area south of Saigon, were born and reared in that area. They were not infiltrators or Communists from the North."**

***—Young* (D. Ohio) *Jan. 14 in the first Senate speech of this session opposing the war in Vietnam.***

# I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. XIV, NO. 3 JANUARY 24, 1966 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

# How to Win Hanoi and Upset Peking

In diplomacy, as in war, nothing is so effective as surprise. The opponent's plans and tactics are geared to his observation of your usual conduct. To depart from it is to throw him off balance. The way to throw the enemies of negotiation in Peking and Hanoi off balance is to do the unexpected—and that is, first of all, to let the suspension of bombing in the North go on, week after week. The longer the suspension continues the more faith builds up at home and abroad, among allies and neutrals, that Lyndon Johnson really means it when he says he is looking for peace. If the bombings resume, the peace offensive will be dismissed as a phoney. The pressure of neutral capitals on Hanoi to talk will be ended. The bitter-enders in the NLF, North Vietnam and Peking will be strengthened in their argument that the only course is to go on fighting, no matter how long, until we are driven out of Southeast Asia. But every day the lull continues begins to rebuild that credibility the whole course of U.S. policy in Vietnam since 1954 has been destroying. The way to really puzzle Peking is to make it look more and more as if we really may be sincere.

### The Esperanto in The Cave Man's Club

We are accustomed to seeing minor conflicts like a strike drag on for weeks and sometimes months. But we expect far more complex problems like the Vietnamese war to be ended overnight by a gesture. If steel magnates and steel labor can't speak the same language easily, how can we expect swift understanding between tongues, civilizations and ideologies as different as Hanoi's and Washington's? The one common language in such disputes is the common language of the hard-liners on both sides—each insists all the other understands is force. This is the argument on both sides for stepping up the war until the other is destroyed or surrenders. This is the Esperanto of human conflict from time immemorial. What neither side understands is the sudden withdrawal of force. If the bombings are still suspended when Prime Minister Wilson visits Moscow February 21, Peking will have cause to worry, lest an agreement among Moscow, Hanoi and Washington be reached in Vietnam, on its borders, without its concurrence, opening the way to a Russo-American entente and the isolation of China. This and not the bombings is what Peking fears.

**Second Thoughts On Wall Street**

**"It is not enough, although true, to say we are in Vietnam to resist Red Chinese expansion. The question that has to be tackled before too long is whether the U.S. is inflicting more injury on the Communists or itself on this particular battlefield. If the answer is that the Communists are getting the worse of it, then the U.S. can go about its business and take in stride the verbal abuse it is receiving at home and abroad. If the answer is that the U.S. is in danger of damaging itself more than any conceivable gains would warrant, then the national interest would require a re-examination of policy. The questions grow in importance . . . because Vietnam policy for years has seemed characterized by drift. . . . Congress, we think, should make its contribution, in the hope of ensuring that this open-ended war has some foreseeable and honorable end."**

***—"The Open Ended War", lead editorial in the Wall Street Journal, January 18.***

This fear will have to be allayed if there is to be peace in Asia. That is why we applaud the Administration for the feelers toward better relations it has begun to extend toward Peking—the lifting of the bars on the visits of medical men to mainland China, the offer to admit Chinese newsmen if ours are given visas, the indication that we are ready to discuss mutual maritime problems and the unusual demonstration in the Senate on a non-proliferation treaty. Fifty-two Senators, a majority, join an Administration figure like Pastore, chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, in supporting negotiations to which Peking has been invited. The Senate demonstration came too late for coverage in this issue but it showed not only a readiness to meet Russian fears about a nuclear Germany but—equally important—a readiness to talk—and co-exist—with China.

A suspicious China, fearful of attack, sensitive to any slight against its dignity, grown almost paranoid under U.S. "containment," must sooner or later respond to such overtures if we persevere. The reward of perseverance may be the lives of the countless sons and grandsons the course toward war with China would ultimately cost us. One fact few observed may help to encourage this new course. The Chinese are supposed

*(Continued on Page Four)*



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# Even A Cabinet Post Won't Heal The Wounds of New Anti-Negro Outrages ...

We welcome the appointment of the first Negro Cabinet member. The confirmation of Robert C. Weaver as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development will encourage the small Negro upper class but we suspect it will have little impact on the Negro masses. The gulf between them is deep. Overshadowing the appointment is the revelation of new horror. At a hearing Jan. 14 the House Un-American Activities Committee ended the mystery which surrounded the finding of the decomposed bodies of two Negroes, Charles Moore and Henry Dee, in a Mississippi River backwater in July 1954 while authorities were searching for the three civil rights workers who had disappeared near Philadelphia, Miss. A paper mill worker confessed that the two had been whipped and mutilated by Klansmen but two Klansmen arrested in the murder were released by a Justice of the Peace without even being taken before a grand jury. No one knew until now that the authorities had a confession. Since the House Committee is getting most of this material from the FBI, some member of Congress ought to ask why J. Edgar Hoover did not bring it forcibly to public attention at the time. He is articulate enough on his favorite themes. The day after this revelation, there was another painful scene when police disrupted a memorial march in Hattiesburg, Miss., for slain civil rights leader, Vernon Dahmer. "Four of Dahmer's six sons," the AP reported from Hattiesburg (*Wash. Post* Jan. 16), "two of them Air Force sergeants and two of them Army men, were among the mourners." Negroes may feel there is no need to ship such Negro soldiers 9,000 miles away if we are so intent on defending democracy against terrorists.

*From Our New Left to Theirs:* American anti-Communism has become such a dirty tool that it is hard to draw the attention of our best youth to the real injustices of the Soviet system. Yet the young people who had the nerve to demonstrate and to give out leaflets in Moscow against the arrest of the writers Siniavski and Daniel are the natural counterparts of our own New Left, rebels like ours against moral indifference. Now *Izvestia* (Jan. 12) has published a bitter attack by the Secretary General of the Moscow Union of Writers on the two arrested men. "It seems," *Le Monde* commented Jan. 14, "that the emotion aroused in the Soviet intelligentsia and abroad has forced Soviet literary functionaries to reveal an affair they would have preferred to pass over in silence." The crime is to have published abroad under the name of Tertz and Arjak, thus eluding Soviet censorship. The students who demonstrated for them were asking freedom for writers and for a public trial. Neither is at all likely to be granted unless there is greater pressure from abroad. It would be an act of solidarity with the best Soviet youth and Soviet writers if American youth leaders and writers associated with peace and civil rights were to hold a protest meeting in this country. To cleanse socialism of bureaucratic authoritarianism is one of the great tasks of our time.

*Africa's Deeper Troubles:* Since last November the military have taken over in five African countries: Congo (Leo), Dahomey, Central African Republic, Upper Volta and now Nigeria. The latest Foreign Aid report just sent to Congress boasts that $29.4 million in military aid given 11 African

## Just A Farm Boy's Chore Over Vietnam

**Ban Me Thuot, Vietnam—Capt. James Wisby, Tomah, Wis., studied agriculture at the University of Minnesota, but now spends much of his time helping to destroy crops. Piloting single-engine, two-seater planes known as bird dogs, Wisby and seven other Air Force men are responsible for patrolling 10,000 square miles of South Vietnam. One of their principal jobs is to keep close check on farm land controlled by the Viet Cong. If it appears to be flourishing, they pinpoint it for other planes which destroy it with bombs, napalm or chemicals. Wisby's personal plane is called the five J's after his family: Jim, himself; Joanne, his wife; Janet, 3; Jeffrey, 7 months and Jeepers, the dog. . . . Wisby's squadron is part of a larger force of Air Force bird dogs, 120 of them, carrying out the largest jungle watching and air espionage program in history. Every part of South Vietnam is divided into squares which are constantly under surveillance. The revolutionary thing about the program is its combination of intensive visual reconnaissance and immediate striking ability. The idea came from Rand Corp. Tons of data and aerial photographs are fed into electronic computers which judge the results and suggest improvements.**

*—The Milwaukee Journal, January 16.*

## U.S. Army's Own Chemical War Manual Admits Gases Now Used in Vietnam Can Be Lethal

**The U.S. appears to have embarked on a new phase of gas warfare. The Wall Street Journal (Jan. 5) said the Joint Chiefs of Staff was considering a proposal to supply "more effective" gases to field commanders in Vietnam. Within several weeks, the WSJ predicted, the plan would be forwarded to the White House for final approval. Two gases mentioned for possible use were CNS and BZ. CNS causes severe nausea, tearing, colic, and diarrhea that can last for weeks. BZ causes the victim to lose muscle control and lapse into disorientation, occasional hallucinations, fever and headaches for periods up to 10 days. A new development appeared Jan. 14 when UPI (in the Wash. Daily News) reported that American and Australian troops ending their sweep through the Ho Bo woods "seeded tunnels with nausea-producing gas crystals that will not dissipate for days."**

**Although officially classified "non-lethal", neither the new gases nor the "riot control agents" already in use are as safe as the Pentagon would have us believe. According to the Army's own "Military Chemistry and Chemical Manual", even the "milder" gases in use since April are lethal at high density. Their median lethal dosages—enough to kill 50% of the people in the area contaminated—range from 11 grams per minute per meter cubed to 25. While only a tiny fraction of this renders a man ineffective, the grenades used by our troops carry approximately 200 grams of gas each or between 8 and 18½ times the median lethal dose.**

**When used outdoors, the danger from these gases is minimized. But, in Vietnam, the gases are used most often in caves and tunnels where terrain, humidity, temperature and wind conditions make it practically impossible to predict the density and persistency of a gas on a given spot. "How do we know how much gas is necessary to get a man out of a cave?" said an Army information officer. "We just drop it; whether or not he wants to come out is up to him." But what if the man in the cave is an aged peasant, a terrified child or a wounded soldier?—*P.O.***

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# . . . Why The Silence of J. Edgar Hoover on The Murders of Moore and Dee?

nations enable them "to thwart Soviet and Chinese Communist efforts to gain a dominating influence" in countries "whose political and economic vulnerability make them tempting targets for subversion and infiltration." In the Central African Republic and Dahomey the coups were designed to break relations with China; one suspects the CIA may have had a hand. Behind all these obscure intrigues and complex political-tribal tangles lies one common factor: the continued impoverishment of Africa. The prices of almost all the basic materials it sells abroad have been falling: cocoa, sugar, bananas, coffee and wood. It is on such products that Africa depends for the foreign exchange to meet its rising debts and aspirations. These are troubles military dictatorship will not cure. . . .

*POLLS:* A Gallup poll we saw fully reported only in the York, Pa., *Gazette & Daily* (Jan. 10) showed nearly nine of every ten people believe the greatest event this year would be an end of the Vietnamese war and peace in the world. . . . The latest Harris poll (*Congressional Record,* Jan. 17, p. 291) reassuringly shows 7-to-1 opposition to the Ku Klux Klan—even a consensus in the South against it—but it also reveals an appalling political ignorance. When asked which two or three words best describe the people who support the Klan, the fourth most frequent answer was "Communists." This was the choice of 29% in the nation, 24% in the South and 43% among Negroes. The word, apparently, has become a synonym for anything bad. . . . A poll we prefer drew complaint from Roger Blough of U.S. Steel in the current *Harvard Business Review.* He writes that for the past three years the admissions committee of Antioch College has asked entrance candidates whom they most admired in this country. Not a single one was a businessman or a military leader. . . .

*Requiescat in Monte:* We are less reluctant to invest in the better grade stocks and bonds now that the *Wall Street Journal* discloses (Jan. 12) that almost all of our top 500 corporations have some sort of underground alternate headquarters for use in the event of thermonuclear war. The bigger the company the deeper the hole. Standard Oil (New Jersey), Manufacturers Hanover Trust and Shell Oil are among those most deeply dug in. They have quarters in the hollowed out core of Iron Mt. near Hudson, N.Y., "protected from blast, heat and radiation by countless tons of rock, soil and iron ore." New York City, 115 miles south, could be incinerated but Iron Mt. would escape unscathed. Only a near direct hit by a multi-megaton weapon could smash this privileged sanctuary. There, when "a 28-ton steel door in the mountainside swings open" the visitor "wanders through offices, kitchens, dormitories." Here the selected few, like the animals on Noah's Ark, would ride out the storm. Among Jersey Standard's "chosen people" (as the *Wall Street Journal* reverently calls them) are the president, the chairman and the entire board of directors for whom double-bedrooms with semi-private baths are assigned. Enough clerks and secretaries to serve them would live in dormitories the construction crew cynically termed "the slave quarters." The living rooms are brightly colored and hung with vivid prints; there is even a music room for piped-in concerts. We found ourselves wishing we believed in immortality. We could almost look forward to a Third World War, knowing we could amuse ourselves by looking down on the Jersey Standard board of directors meeting in cozy imperturbability under Iron Mt. after the rest of us had been pulverized, cannily debating whether to declare an extra dividend, just to improve the tone of the stock market.

## Still The Unmentionables

**Saigon, Jan. 17—The South Vietnamese government, with the logistical support of the United States, has undertaken the largest propaganda campaign ever attempted in this country. For the offensive, timed with its lunar New Year, psychological warfare officials have concocted popular songs, radio appeals, almost two dozen leaflets, and an astrological calendar prepared with the aid of certified Asian astrologers. . . . [But] Not one of the slips of paper that are being dropped over South Vietnam every day mentions land reform or political and religious liberty or freedom of speech or free enterprise. By Thursday more than 140 million pieces will have been dropped.**

*—R. W. Appel, Jr. in New York Times, Jan. 18.*

## Why the Saigon Regime Has No Interest in Anything But An Expanded War

**"Disappointment [in the State of the Union Message] also was voiced by a few politically conscious Vietnamese that the President did not make an explicit endorsement of revolutionary social change as an alternative to communism. . . . It was felt this would have strengthened the hand of Ambassador Lodge who, since his return in August, has been urging sweeping land reforms and a more equitable social structure. The Viet Cong recruits from the south are almost entirely from the politically and economically disinherited class of land tenants.**

**"Lodge has repeatedly stressed that political remedies involved in 'true revolution' are basic preconditions to winning the war. Yet both Lodge and his top political aide, retired Maj. Gen. Edward Lansdale are known to have become increasingly discouraged. . . . They have encountered formidable opposition from the land-owning urban middle class. . . . This helps explain official Vietnamese response to the President's speech and his peace offensive and provides the key to the South Vietnam government's position on negotiations. This position, voiced yesterday by Foreign Minister Tran Van Do, is that the war is principally of aggression by North Vietnam and can be won on the battlefield, but is basically not negotiable."**

—Washington Star *special from Saigon, Jan. 14.*

**"Many top Vietnamese favor carrying the ground war to North Vietnam and even on to China. This same Vietnamese power group does not share the U.S. belief that victory can be found in South Vietnam alone, since it requires the kind of sweeping social revolution they have no interest in pursuing. . . . The ruling, largely middle-class power group . . . has no intention of giving up its favored economic and political position. Instead it seeks victory almost solely through military action in an expanded war."**

—Washington Star *special from Saigon, Jan. 15. These two unusual unsigned dispatches reflect the views of Lodge and Lansdale. The Saigon government is based on absentee landlords and urban business men profiting from the war inflation. Neither have an interest in the social reforms Lodge and Lansdale believe could provide the basis for a non-Communist pro-American regime.*

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# Time for A Civilian Government and Free Opinion in South Vietnam

(Continued from Page One)

to be the ideological purists of the Communist world. But in the last French election Radio Peking supported the "bourgeois" de Gaulle against the candidate of the French Left. That is what a friendly French policy did to Maoist orthodoxy. If Washington would replace the face of hostility with the face of friendship, and ignore initial rebuffs, it too might get surprising results.

## Using The Lull to Land More Troops

On this craggy course to the reestablishment of confidence, every reappearance of the tricky will be a setback. An example was the landing of 7,000 new troops in the lull before the New Year truce, and the headlines announcing that we would have 340,000 in South Vietnam by next June. The President's State of the Union Message offered to limit or reduce the scale of fighting if the other side reciprocated. For some weeks our own intelligence has reported no contacts with North Vietnamese troops. This may be a signal that the other side has begun to de-escalate. It ill accords with this to land more troops and allow unofficial sources to blast the news of a buildup from 190,000 to 340,000 in the next six months. In addition, while our military leak suspicion to the press that the other side may use the New Year truce to build up *its* troops, we take advantage of the quiet pre-truce hours to land 7,000 more of our own. Past experience has shown how vulnerable newly landed troops otherwise are to guerrilla attack.

There is a second front on which any real peace offensive must proceed, and this is the question of a civilian government in Saigon. A puppet military dictatorship is a positive hindrance on the road to peace. The growing credibility of the peace offensive is already shaking the Ky regime. This playboy admirer of Hitler is in danger of being overthrown by hard-line Generals. In so unstable a situation it is not easy to begin peace talks and continue military effort at the same time. The one important bit of news * at the tumultuous Manhattan Centre meeting in New York City last Sunday for the three back from Hanoi came in the last few minutes when Prof. Staughton Lynd was asked why the National Liberation Front had not established a provisional government. He replied that it had not done so because it was leaving the way open for a coalition. The longer we prevent normal political life from resuming in South Vietnam, the weaker our own political position will be in any such coalition. Now is the time to prove, for once, that we are not entirely insincere in talking of free choice in South Vietnam. A majority of its people are in the urban enclaves we control. If we were now to allow free press and free political party activity, we would give non-Communist democratic elements a chance to live and breathe again. If Bao Dai could allow neutralist parties to campaign in a fairly free election (see Bernard B. Fall's account in *The Nation* last April 5) while the war against the Viet Minh was going on, we can do so today if we want to. A demonstration that the U.S. was at last prepared to let South Vietnam's people determine their own destiny would be the greatest surprise of all.

### Brass Hat in Full Dress Blinders

**"In the most extended such discussion of Vietnam prospects by a top military commander, General Greene [Marine Corps commandant] spoke with confidence of *improving conditions, not only militarily but in the* rapidly growing rehabilitation. . . . 'They [the people] know we are there to help them.'"**

*—Baltimore Sun, from the Pentagon, Jan. 18.*

**"Expanding terrorism, insecurity, a violent inflation, profiteering, food shortages. . . . The situation in South Vietnam is found to be worse now than before the U.S. started moving in large numbers of troops last spring. . . . In the Saigon area, the cost of rice has doubled in six months. . . . Black marketing is bad. . . . In big cities, the atmosphere seems infected by honky-tonks. . . . U.S. and South Vietnamese forces actually hold less territory than they did a year ago. So-called pacified areas are not safe, and the highly touted counter insurgency has not gotten off the ground. . . ."**

*—U.S. News & World Report: The Untold Story of The War, an eye-opener in a pro-war paper, Jan. 24.*

* **Aside from the excerpts from their prepared statements we published in last week's issue. In addition A. J. Muste announced plans for a Yankee Stadium peace rally in March.**

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5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W.
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NEWSPAPER

I. F. Stone's Weekly. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Published every Monday except in August, the last week in December and the first week in January and Bi-Weekly during July at 5618 Nebraska Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. An independent weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: $5 in the U.S.; $6 in Canada; $10 elsewhere. Air Mail rates: $15 to Europe; $20 to Israel, Asia and Africa.

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